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A classic from Adelaide Institute's Archive:

Mrs Olga Scully and Mr Jürgen Graf at the Adelaide Institute International Revisionist Symposium, August 1998.

Fredrick Töben's new book obtainable for \$30.- from:
PEACE BOOKS
PO Box 3300
Adelaide-Norwood 5067
Australia.



'The montage on the back cover was sent to me by an unknown person while in a European prison. In German it says: 'Capitulate? Never!'. It was pasted on cardboard and there is an unobtrusive pocket at the lower left containing a razorblade. The prison mail system delivered this to my cell. It was only when I pried between the cardboard montage that I noticed the pocket contained a razorblade. It surprised me somewhat that this card made it through the severe prison postal censorship.'

Fredrick Töben looks at a MUST READ BOOK!

A REVIEW OF Tomislav Sunic's

Postmortem Report: Cultural Examinations from Postmodernity

Wermod & Wermod, PO Box 1107, Shamley Green GU50WJ, United Kingdom

ISBN 978-0-9561835-2-1

It is always refreshing to have a theoretical overlay perspective on matters that concern us, something British Empiricism has little time for but which is a matter of course within the French Rationalist and German Idealist tradition. Dr Tomislav Sunic does just that in his latest book. While empirical observations progress within a framework that permits cant and dissembling to take place, the other intellectual traditions demand a rationale and thereby activate the British Common Law principle of natural justice, i.e. it gives an individual the right of reply and so opens up a matter for discussion. For example, it should be known that the National Socialists aimed to raise living standards, lifting individuals into cultural endeavours that enabled them to appreciate the beauties of their heritage, their western culture. This is in marked contrast to the Communist-egalitarian endeavours that still seek to reduce individuals to the lowest common denominator – now so visible in the consumer society where uplifting world views crash into an abyss of infantile hedonism sublimated by a shroud of nihilism. The individual has the freedom to self-destruct but must not ask fundamental questions about life's purpose, etc.

Professor Sunic's 203-page book divides into five parts:

I: Religion;

II: Cultural Pessimism;

III: Race/The Third Reich;

IV: Liberalism and Democracy;

V: Multiculturalism and Communism.

Endnotes and a comprehensive Index conclude Sunic's reflections, which shed more light on the vexed problem, for example, of the ugliness of modern art foisted upon an unsuspecting public that is beginning to smell a rat – celebrating ugliness is not a moral virtue! Now, instead of my review of Dr Sunic's book here is Professor Kevin MacDonald's excellent *FOREWORD* wherein all matters of importance are considered.

Foreword

This collection of articles and essays, previously published in a variety of journals and delving into topics ranging from race to literary criticism to philosophy of history, is most welcomed. Tom Sunic is an important intellectual – all the more so because there are so few intellectuals, especially in Europe, who are willing to dissent from the standard views of the left that have dominated intellectual discourse on issues relating to race, multiculturalism, and World War Two.

There are several qualities of his writing and his personal talent that I think are noteworthy. As an American, I greatly appreciate his European view of things. Every time I read one of his essays, I am introduced to a large number of authors who are unfamiliar to American audiences. Like most Americans, one of my (several) vices is that I am restricted to the English language. Sunic has read widely in French and German, and Croatian. This is a huge advantage in developing a broad perspective on European history and culture as a whole. So many intellectuals are confined to one little area- I think because they are afraid to be criticized by resident experts if they cross-disciplinary boundaries. The towering egos of so many intellectuals and their desires to defend their little territory against interlopers are huge barriers to progress.

Add to that his personal experience: The vast majority of Americans, myself included, have no experience of anything remotely resembling the brutal history of Europe's recent past. Sunic grew up in Croatia under Communism and is personally acquainted with some of the darkest phenomena of the twentieth century. His family was persecuted by the communists and he clearly has a deep sense of the tragic aftermath of World War Two when the communist slaughtered many thousands of Croat nationals as well as nationals in other eastern European countries that came under communist domination. He discusses "the Aristocide of Bleiberg and other communist killing fields" – the point being that the communists murdered a considerable percentage of the Croatian elite. Indeed, he proposes that the murderous

action of the communists probably had a dysgenic effect on the population as a whole.

As he points out, this murderous hostility toward the intelligent, the talented, and the physically gifted is the common denominator of the political left. Armed with theories of radical environmentalism ("the thesis that the social-economic environment engenders miracles) – what some have called "left creationism" and impervious to scientific fact and logic, communism has had a devastating effect wherever it has come to power.

Sunic is what has been called a "race realist" – someone who is not reticent in discussing the importance of race in human affairs based on scientific evidence and common sense. From ancient times, people have understood the importance of good breeding, and their perceptions of physical beauty and health have been adaptive in an evolutionary sense. The misshapen faces of gargoyles on the one hand and the ideal of the human form in much of western art tell a story of normal, healthy attitudes for much of our history. And it says much that the triumph of the left in world War two resulted also in the triumph of the abstractions and downright ugliness of modern art. This is art that has become established as high culture not because it naturally pleases the eye but because it pleases a corrupt, hostile, hyper-intellectualized, ethnically alien and politically motivated cultural establishment.

As Sunic reminds us, the defeat of National Socialism had devastating effect on the culture of the West – transforming it into a culture of suicide. In one of his most interesting essays, he shows that the art in Germany during the National Socialist period had strong classical themes. Whatever its faults – and there were many – the record shows that one strand of National Socialism was to preserve the traditional culture of Europe.

With historical hindsight, it is not too much to suggest that, unless there is a change in direction, the destruction of National Socialism represents the death knell of the West. This is because the culture of the post-World War Two West idolized White people with no allegiance to their people or

their traditional culture, with no understanding of their own history. The books were burned and whatever was left of the old culture was anathematized.

Sunic writes that "the whole purpose of classicism and neo-classicisms, particularly in plastic art, but also in philosophy and literature suggested that Europeans had to abide by the cosmic rules of racial form and order. Whatever and whoever departs from order – brings in decadence and death". The obvious implication is that to abandon this aesthetic is to accept death. The culture of the West has become the culture of Western suicide, and indeed there can be little doubt that that is exactly where we are headed.

Sunic goes where the very few post-World War Two intellectuals dared to tread: The idea that people of other racial backgrounds look up to Whites and behave accordingly. There is an envy and desire to mimic Whites: "The Western heritage, regardless of whether it is despised or loved by non-Europeans, is viewed either consciously or subconsciously as the ideal type and role model for all."

This envy is also an aspect of the peril of European peoples. The ideology of the victors of World War Two has placed Europeans in a situation where their official ideology has as its central feature the moral imperative of cultural and demographic suicide. The racial resentment against the Western "other" that has often resulted in mimicry and emulation can also lead to violent retribution when the balance of power has shifted. Whites who fail to see all the signs of festering hostility of non-Whites who have been welcomed into Western countries under the aegis of wildly optimistic ideologies promulgated by hostile elites are simply not paying attention. It has a festering hostility of a large, deeply aggrieved Jewish population in the Soviet Union that led to the darkest horrors of the Twentieth Century.

Sunic understands the importance of race, but he does not think of the White race as a genetically homogenous group. Far from it. He rightly empathizes that central Europe has been a melting pot of different racial subgroups. Sunic points out that even during the Third Reich, the Germans did not think of themselves as a pure Nordic race but as a mixture of European racial sub-types. They recruited many different racial sub-types into high positions in the military, including a great many Slavs. As Sunic notes, the result was that the Wehrmacht and Waffen SS did not represent a very narrow racial type but included a great many Slavs and other people. The result was what he calls a "united European" fighting force. This departs quite radically from the received wisdom, and should have a major effect on how we think about World War Two.

Sunic also brings up things about World War Two that most of us are somewhat aware of but which are painful to read about. The psychopathic slaughters of civilians perpetrated on Dresden and other cities at a time when the outcome of the war had been decided are a monument of the viciousness of the Allies. The same can be said about the brutal treatment of German soldiers and civilians after the war, at least some of which was the result of Jewish influence. Indeed, it is apparent that if powerful Jews like

Henry Morgenthau, Jun. (Secretary of the Treasury in the Roosevelt Administration) had had their way, many millions more Germans would have been murdered.

Sunic is one of those rare Western intellectuals who is willing to discuss Jewish influence openly and honestly. The real winners of World War two were not the Allies, including even the Soviet Union whose domination over Eastern Europe ultimately lasted less than 50 years. The real winners were the Jews.

Jewish power increased dramatically after World War Two. Israel was established in 1948 over the strong objections of the non-Jewish foreign policy establishment of the United States. Israel is now a regional power that is using its military capability and alliances with the United States to increase its territory.

After World War Two, anti-Jewish attitudes declined rapidly in the United States and the West. There was a corresponding upsurge of Jewish wealth, political power, and cultural influence in the media, the arts, and the academic world. And a major facet of Jewish cultural power is that even by the 1940s Jewish influence became a taboo topic for anyone wishing to avoid social ostracism and penury.

Sunic presents a rational unbiased assessment of Jewish influence that is refreshingly free of the usual inhibitions without resorting to wild accusations and unverifiable assertions. In other words, Jewish influence should be discussed in a dispassionate manner of a social scientist just as it is with every other identifiable group. As Sunic points out, the only people who are allowed to discuss Jewish influence at all in the mainstream media are Jews. On the other hand, many Jews have achieved a great deal of influence as historians and critics of Western culture. The implicit attitude seems to be that Jewish history and Jewish influence are topics to be discussed, if at all, only within the Jewish community. It is a dialogue among Jews that non-Jews have no part in.

This is an inherently unfair situation, which has always had a tendency to lead to paranoia among non-Jews.

Europeans who have any allegiance to their people and the culture cannot stand by and accept this state of affairs. We are approaching an endgame situation in the West. In the United States, people of non-European descent will be the majority in just a few short decades, and the same will happen throughout Europe and other societies established by Europeans since the dawn of the Age of Discovery. At that point, centuries-old hostilities and resentments of non-white peoples towards Whites that Sunic discusses will come to the fore, and the culture and Europe will be irretrievably lost.

We must confront this impending disaster with a sense of psychological intensity and desperation. Reading Tom Sunic's essays will certainly provide the background for understanding how we got here and perhaps also for finding our way towards the future.

Professor Kevin MacDonald
Long Beach, California,
September 23, 2009.

From: Ardeshir Mehta ardeshir@mac.com

Sent: Wednesday, 9 June 2010 3:40 AM

**To: news-sense; Square-Two@yahoogroups.com; uno_reform@yahoogroups.com;
Global Media Lightning Headlines@yahoogroups.com**

Subject: Kidnapped by Israel, forsaken by Britain

The power of the Rothschild trillions. Israel could do nothing without the support of Britain and the USA - among many other states! And their governments - and most of their citizens too - do it because if they didn't, the Rothschild's and their

bankster cronies would financially squeeze their balls till they yelped. Pass it on! A news producer at Al Jazeera has written his account of what really happened on the Turkish vessel **Marmara**.

Kidnapped by Israel, forsaken by Britain
By Jamal Elshayyal, June 6, 2010

Firstly I must apologise for taking so long to update my blog. The events of the past few days have been hectic to say the least, and I am still trying to come to grips with many of the things that have happened.

It was this time last week that I was on the top deck of the Mavi Marmara, and first spotted Israeli warships at a distance, as they approached the humanitarian flotilla. Little did I know how deadly and bloody the events that soon unfolded would be.

What I will write in this entry is fact, every letter of it, none of it is opinion, none of it is analysis, I will leave that to you, the reader.

After spotting the warships at a distance, (at roughly 11pm) the organisers called for passengers to wear their life vests and remain indoors as they monitored the situation. The naval warships together with helicopters remained at a distance for several hours.

At 2am local time the organisers informed me that they had re-routed the ship, as far away from Israel as possible, as deep into international waters as they could. They did not want a confrontation with the Israeli military, at least not by night.

Just after 4am local time, the Israeli military attacked the ship, in international waters. It was an unprovoked attack. Tear gas was used, sound grenades were launched, and rubber coated steel bullets were fired from almost every direction.

Dozens of speed boats carrying about 15-20 masked Israeli soldiers, armed to the teeth surrounded the Mavi Marmara which was carrying 600 or so unarmed civilians. Two helicopters at a time hovered above the vessel. Commandos on board the choppers joined the firing, using live ammunition, before any of the soldiers had descended onto the ship.

Two unarmed civilians were killed just metres away from me. Dozens of unarmed civilians were injured right before my eyes.

One Israeli soldier, armed with a large automatic gun and a side pistol, was overpowered by several passengers. They disarmed him. They did not use his weapons or fire them; instead they threw his weapons over board and into the sea. After what seemed at the time as roughly 30 minutes, passengers on board the ship raised a white flag. The Israeli army continued to fire live ammunition. The ships organisers made a loud speaker announcement saying they have surrendered the ship. The Israeli army continued to fire live ammunition.

I was the last person to leave the top deck.

Below, inside the sleeping quarters, all the passengers had gathered. There was shock, anger, fear, hurt, chaos.

Doctors ran in all directions trying to treat the wounded, blood was on the floor, tears ran down people's faces, cries of pain and mourning could be heard everywhere. Death was in the air.

Three critically injured civilians were being treated on the ground in the reception area of the ship. Their clothes soaked in blood. Passengers stood by watching in shock, some read out verses of the Qur'an to calm them, doctors worked desperately to save them.

Several announcements were made on the loud speakers in Hebrew, Arabic and English - "This is a message to the Israeli army, we have surrendered. We are unarmed. We have critically injured people. Please come and take them. We will not attack."

There was no response.

One of the passengers, a member of the Israeli Parliament, wrote a sign in Hebrew, reading the exact same thing; she held it together with a white flag and approached the windows where the Israeli soldiers were standing outside. They pointed their laser guided guns to her head, ordering her to go away.

A British citizen tried the same sign - this time holding a British Flag and taking the sign to a different set of windows and different set of soldiers. They responded in the same manner.

Three hours later, all three of the injured were pronounced dead. The Israeli soldiers who refused to allow them treatment succeeded where their colleagues had earlier failed when they targeted these three men with bullets.

At around 8am the Israeli army entered the sleeping quarters. They handcuffed the passengers. I was thrown onto the ground, my hands tied behind my back, I couldn't move an inch.

I was taken to the top deck where the other passengers were, forced to sit on my knees under the burning sun.

One passenger had his hands tied so tight his wrists were all sorts of colours. When he requested that the cuffs be loosened, an Israeli soldier tightened them even more. He let out a scream that sent chills down my body.

I requested to go to the bathroom, I was prevented. Instead the Israeli soldier told me to urinate where I was and in my own clothes. Three or four hours later I was allowed to go.

I was then marched, together with the other passengers, back to the sleeping quarters. The place was ransacked, its image like that of the aftermath of an earthquake.

I remained on the ship, seated, without any food or drink, barring three sips of water, for more than 24 hours. Throughout this time, Israeli soldiers had their guns pointed at us. Their hands on the trigger. For more than 24 hours.

I was then taken off the ship at Ashdod where I was asked to sign a deportation order. It claimed that I had entered Israel illegally and agreed to be deported. I told the officer that I, in fact, had not entered Israel but that the Israeli army had kidnapped me from international waters and brought me to Israel against my will; therefore I could not sign this document.

My passport was taken from me. I was told that I would go to jail.

Only then were my hands freed, I spent more than 24 hours with my hands cuffed behind my back, with nothing to eat, and barely anything to drink.

Upon arrival at the prison I was put in a cell with three other passengers. The cell was roughly 12ft by 9ft. I spent more than 24 hours in jail. I was not allowed to make a single phone call. The British consulate did not come and see me. I did not see a lawyer.

There was no hot water for a shower. The only meal was frozen bread and some potatoes. The only reason I believe I was released was because the Turkish prisoners refused to

leave until and unless the other nationalities (those whose consulates had not come and released them) were set free. I was taken to Ben Gurion airport. When I asked for my passport, the Israeli official presented me with a piece of paper and said "congratulations this is your new passport". I replied "you must be joking, you have my passport". The Israeli official's response: "sue me". There I was asked again to sign a deportation order. Again I refused. I was put on a plane headed to Istanbul. Masked Israeli soldiers and commandos took me from international waters. Uniformed Israeli officials locked me behind bars.

The British government did not lift a finger to help me, till this day I have not seen or heard from a British official. The Israeli government stole my passport. The Israeli government stole my lap top, two cameras, 3 phones, \$1500 and all my possessions.

My government, the British government has not even acknowledged my existence. I was kidnapped by Israel. I was forsaken by my country.

<http://blogs.aljazeera.net/middleeast/2010/06/06/kidnappe-d-israel-forsaken-britain>

Bollywood to make Hitler film

Dear Friend Hitler, thought to be Indian cinema's first portrayal of the Nazi dictator, is set in the last days of the Third Reich. *The Guardian*, 8 June 2010



The Bollywood film will focus on Hitler's last days. Photograph: Getty Images

He is a stalwart of Indian cinema who once played Gandhi on the small screen, while she is a former Miss [India](#) best known for her romantic comedy roles. Together, [Anupam Kher](#) and [Neha Dhupia](#) are to play [Adolf Hitler](#) and his mistress Eva Braun in a [new Bollywood film](#) set in the last days of the Third Reich.

According to reports, the curiously titled *Dear Friend Hitler* will centre on the relationships between the Nazi dictator and those who were close to him, including Braun, his long-term lover who he married in his final days in the Berlin bunker. "It aims to take the viewer into close quarters with the enigmatic personality that Hitler was and give a glimpse into his insecurities, his charisma, his paranoia and his sheer genius," a source told the *Mumbai Mirror* newspaper.

Kher, who was chosen by the film's director, Rakesh Ranjan Kumar, for his apparent resemblance to Hitler, told reporters on Sunday that he was looking forward to the challenge. "I already have an image, I am a known actor, so it will be doubly hard work for me to take away that image," he said. "He's one of the most interesting characters of our times."

Kumar said he considered Hitler the most successful loser of the 20th century and wanted to examine this interpretation.

"As a leader, he was successful. Why did he lose as a human being, what were the problems, what were the issues, what were his intentions, this is what we want to show," he said. The aim is for the film to be an international release.

Perhaps controversially, Kumar also said he hoped to show Hitler's "love for India" and how the Nazi leader indirectly contributed to independence in the subcontinent. He said the movie would be neither a war story, nor a tale of love.

"The film will not show the love life of Adolf Hitler. It will show [the] Eva who had been rarely spoken about in history," Kumar told Indian news agency IANS. "Eva had been Hitler's girlfriend since she was 17 years old. The film shows how she comes into his life in his last days. They got married 42 hours before he died (30 April 1945)."

Hitler has been portrayed on the big screen many times, notably in the 2004 German-language film *Downfall*, which was nominated for the best foreign language film Oscar, and in the 1973 British film *Hitler: The Last Ten Days*, in which Alec Guinness played the dictator. *Dear Friend Hitler* is believed to be the first Indian effort.

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/film/2010/jun/08/bollywood-adolf-hitler-film>

Revealed: how Israel offered to sell South Africa nuclear weapons

Exclusive: Secret apartheid-era papers give first official evidence of Israeli nuclear weapons

Chris McGreal in Washington, *The Guardian*, Monday 24 May 2010

The secret military agreement signed by Shimon Peres, now president of Israel, and P W Botha of South Africa. Photograph: Guardian

Secret South African documents reveal that Israel offered to sell nuclear warheads to the apartheid regime, providing the

first official documentary evidence of the state's possession of nuclear weapons.

The "top secret" minutes of meetings between senior officials from the two countries in 1975 show that South Africa's defence minister, PW Botha, asked for the warheads

and Shimon Peres, then Israel's defence minister and now its president, responded by offering them "in three sizes". The two men also signed a broad-ranging agreement governing military ties between the two countries that included a clause declaring that "the very existence of this agreement" was to remain secret.

The documents, uncovered by an American academic, Sasha Polakow-Suransky, in research for a book on the close relationship between the two countries, provide evidence that Israel has nuclear weapons despite its policy of "ambiguity" in neither confirming nor denying their existence.

The Israeli authorities tried to stop South Africa's post-apartheid government declassifying the documents at Polakow-Suransky's request and the revelations will be an embarrassment, particularly as this week's nuclear non-proliferation talks in New York focus on the Middle East.

They will also undermine Israel's attempts to suggest that, if it has nuclear weapons, it is a "responsible" power that would not misuse them, whereas countries such as Iran cannot be trusted.

A spokeswoman for Peres today said the report was baseless and there were "never any negotiations" between the two countries. She did not comment on the authenticity of the documents.

South African documents show that the apartheid-era military wanted the missiles as a deterrent and for potential strikes against neighbouring states.

The documents show both sides met on 31 March 1975. Polakow-Suransky writes in his book published in the US this week, *The Unspoken Alliance: Israel's secret alliance with apartheid South Africa*. At the talks Israeli officials "formally offered to sell South Africa some of the nuclear-capable Jericho missiles in its arsenal".

Among those attending the meeting was the South African military chief of staff, Lieutenant General RF Armstrong. He immediately drew up a memo in which he laid out the benefits of South Africa obtaining the Jericho missiles but only if they were fitted with nuclear weapons.

The memo, marked "top secret" and dated the same day as the meeting with the Israelis, has previously been revealed but its context was not fully understood because it was not known to be directly linked to the Israeli offer on the same day and that it was the basis for a direct request to Israel. In it, Armstrong writes: "In considering the merits of a weapon system such as the one being offered, certain assumptions have been made: a) That the missiles will be armed with nuclear warheads manufactured in RSA (Republic of South Africa) or acquired elsewhere."

But South Africa was years from being able to build atomic weapons. A little more than two months later, on 4 June, Peres and Botha met in Zurich. By then the Jericho project had the codename Chalet.

The top secret minutes of the meeting record that: "Minister Botha expressed interest in a limited number of units of Chalet subject to the correct payload being available." The document then records: "Minister Peres said the correct payload was available in three sizes. Minister Botha expressed his appreciation and said that he would ask for advice." The "three sizes" are believed to refer to the conventional, chemical and nuclear weapons.

The use of a euphemism, the "correct payload", reflects Israeli sensitivity over the nuclear issue and would not have been used had it been referring to conventional weapons. It can also only have meant nuclear warheads as Armstrong's memorandum makes clear South Africa was interested in the Jericho missiles solely as a means of delivering nuclear weapons.

In addition, the only payload the South Africans would have needed to obtain from Israel was nuclear. The South Africans were capable of putting together other warheads.

Botha did not go ahead with the deal in part because of the cost. In addition, any deal would have to have had final approval by Israel's prime minister and it is uncertain it would have been forthcoming.

South Africa eventually built its own nuclear bombs, albeit possibly with Israeli assistance. But the collaboration on military technology only grew over the following years. South Africa also provided much of the yellowcake uranium that Israel required to develop its weapons.

The documents confirm accounts by a former South African naval commander, Dieter Gerhardt – jailed in 1983 for spying for the Soviet Union. After his release with the collapse of apartheid, Gerhardt said there was an agreement between Israel and South Africa called Chalet which involved an offer by the Jewish state to arm eight Jericho missiles with "special warheads". Gerhardt said these were atomic bombs. But until now there has been no documentary evidence of the offer.

Some weeks before Peres made his offer of nuclear warheads to Botha, the two defence ministers signed a covert agreement governing the military alliance known as Secment. It was so secret that it included a denial of its own existence: "It is hereby expressly agreed that the very existence of this agreement... shall be secret and shall not be disclosed by either party".

The agreement also said that neither party could unilaterally renounce it.

The existence of Israel's nuclear weapons programme was revealed by Mordechai Vanunu to the Sunday Times in 1986. He provided photographs taken inside the Dimona nuclear site and gave detailed descriptions of the processes involved in producing part of the nuclear material but provided no written documentation.

Documents seized by Iranian students from the US embassy in Tehran after the 1979 revolution revealed the Shah expressed an interest to Israel in developing nuclear arms. But the South African documents offer confirmation Israel was in a position to arm Jericho missiles with nuclear warheads.

Israel pressured the present South African government not to declassify documents obtained by Polakow-Suransky.

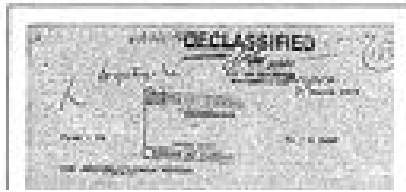
"The Israeli defence ministry tried to block my access to the Secment agreement on the grounds it was sensitive material, especially the signature and the date," he said. "The South Africans didn't seem to care; they blacked out a few lines and handed it over to me. The ANC government is not so worried about protecting the dirty laundry of the apartheid regime's old allies."

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/may/23/israel-south-africa-nuclear-weapons>

The memos and minutes that confirm Israel's nuclear stockpile

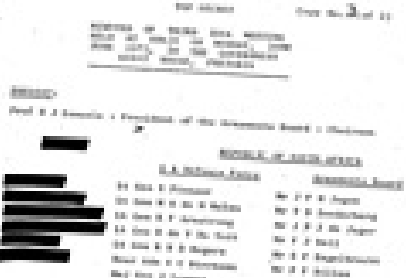
Documents reveal how then-defence minister Shimon Perez tried to sell South Africa's apartheid government the bomb

Memorandum 1
Memorandum to Mr. Peres



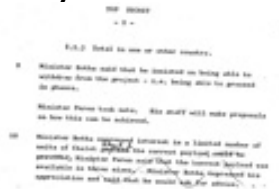
This is the secret memo by [South Africa's](#) military chief of staff, General RF Armstrong, asking for nukes on the Jericho missiles. It has been revealed before, but its context was not understood. We now know the memo was the direct result of a meeting between PW Botha and Shimon Peres, and the basis of Botha's demand for nukes. This memo was uncovered by Peter Liberman and published in the Nonproliferation Review.

• [Declassified memo from General RF Armstrong](#)



This cover page of an ISSA ([Israel-South Africa](#) agreement) meeting in Pretoria between Israeli and South African officials on 30 June 1975 establishes the presence of General Armstrong, who wrote the nuclear memo.

• [Minutes of third ISSA meeting, 30/6/1975](#)



This document details the another ISSA meeting during which Botha says he needs the 'right payload' and Peres offers it in 'three sizes' (paragraph 10).

• [Minutes from further ISSA meeting](#)

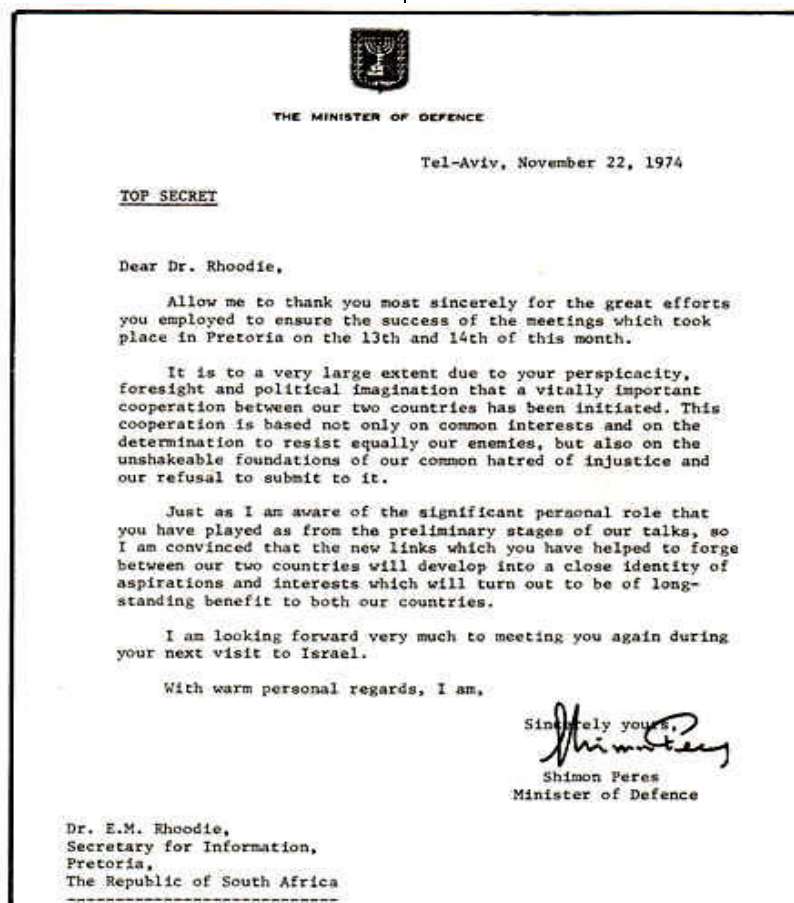


This is the cover page and two other pages from the secret military agreement between Israel and South Africa, signed by both Shimon Peres and Botha. Note on page two there is a clause that says the very existence of the agreement is secret. Both men have signed the agreement on page three.

• [Israel-South Africa agreement](#)



In this letter, dated 11 November 1974, Peres says Israel and the South African apartheid government share a "common hatred of injustice" and urges a "close identity of aspirations and interests".



FROM THE ZÜNDELS

An alle –

Meine Schweigsamkeit während der letzten zwei oder drei Wochen hat nichts mit irgend einer Notlage oder schwerwiegender Verschiebung in meinem Arbeitstakt zu tun - ich beschäftige mich intensiv mit einer deutschen Dokumentation, die, wie ich hoffe, strategische Bedeutung haben wird. Darüber später mehr.

Fürs erste sende ich Euch ein Photo meines verbannten Ehemannes, welches mir das Herz erwärmt. Der Wandbehang an der Vorderfront des Hauses von Ernsts Vorfahren ist die Gabe eines Künstlers zu Ehren seines schöpferischen Geistes, der ihn unter den übelsten Verhältnissen in kanadischer Einzelhaft und später in Deutschland eine Skizze nach der anderen erschaffen ließ, um der Welt mitzuteilen, er werde niemals klein begeben.

Französische Unterstützer des Zündelschen Kampfes haben das teure, hochwertige Spezialgarn beige gesteuert. Ein Webkünstler, der Ernst nie kennengelernt hat, setzte in Hunderten von Stunden sein hervorragendes Können umsonst ein, um dieses Meisterstück herzustellen und hat Ernst Zündels Namen sogar mit Goldfäden in die Tapisserie eingewebt.

Diese spezielle Skizze beruht auf Nummer 45 von mehr als 1.500 Originalen, die ich im Lauf der Jahre gesammelt habe. Wir haben mit diesen Skizzen noch große Dinge vor. Gegenwärtig sind Kopien davon unser wichtigstes Hilfsmittel zum Sammeln von Spenden für unseren Kampf im Sinne der geschichtlichen Wahrheit.

Unten seht Ihr Ernst mit seinem längst zur Legende gewordenen blauen Bauhelm, der ihn während der beiden Großen Holocaustprozesse 1985 und 1988 vor den Hieben seiner jüdischen Angreifer schützte.

Ingrid Zündel

Quelle: german@soaringeaglesgallery.com



THE FAILURE OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH ESTABLISHMENT

By Peter Beinart, *The New York Review Of Books*, June 10, 2010

In 2003, several prominent Jewish philanthropists hired Republican pollster Frank Luntz to explain why American Jewish college students were not more vigorously rebutting campus criticism of Israel. In response, he unwittingly produced the most damning indictment of the organized American Jewish community that I have ever seen.

The philanthropists wanted to know what Jewish students thought about Israel. Luntz found that they mostly didn't. "Six times we have brought Jewish youth together as a group to talk about their Jewishness and connection to Israel," he reported. "Six times the topic of Israel did not come up until it was prompted. Six times these Jewish youth used the word 'they' rather than 'us' to describe the situation."

That Luntz encountered indifference was not surprising. In recent years, several studies have revealed, in the words of Steven Cohen of Hebrew Union College and Ari Kelman of the University of California at Davis, that "non-Orthodox younger Jews, on the whole, feel much less attached to Israel than their elders," with many professing "a near-total absence of positive feelings." In 2008, the student senate at Brandeis, the only nonsectarian Jewish-sponsored university in America, rejected a resolution commemorating the sixtieth anniversary of the Jewish state.

Luntz's task was to figure out what had gone wrong. When he probed the students' views of Israel, he hit up against some firm beliefs. **First, "they reserve the right to question the Israeli position." These young Jews, Luntz explained, "resist anything they see as 'group think.'" They want an "open and frank" discussion of Israel and its flaws. Second, "young Jews desperately want peace."** When Luntz showed them a series of ads, one of the most popular was entitled "Proof that Israel Wants Peace," and listed offers by various Israeli governments to withdraw from conquered land. Third, "some empathize with the plight of the Palestinians." When Luntz displayed ads depicting Palestinians as violent and hateful, several focus group participants criticized them as stereotypical and unfair, citing their own Muslim friends.

Most of the students, in other words, were liberals, broadly defined. They had imbibed some of the defining values of American Jewish political culture: **a belief in open debate, a skepticism about military force, a commitment to human rights.** And in their innocence, they did not realize that they were supposed to shed those values when it came to Israel. **The only kind of Zionism they found attractive was a Zionism that recognized Palestinians**

as deserving of dignity and capable of peace, and they were quite willing to condemn an Israeli government that did not share those beliefs. Luntz did not grasp the irony. **The only kind of Zionism they found attractive was the kind that the American Jewish establishment has been working against for most of their lives.**

Among American Jews today, there are a great many Zionists, especially in the Orthodox world, people deeply devoted to the State of Israel. And **there are a great many liberals, especially in the secular Jewish world, people deeply devoted to human rights for all people, Palestinians included.** But the two groups are increasingly distinct. Particularly in the younger generations, fewer and fewer American Jewish liberals are Zionists; fewer and fewer American Jewish Zionists are liberal. One reason is that the leading institutions of American Jewry have refused to foster—indeed, have actively opposed—a Zionism that challenges Israel's behavior in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and toward its own Arab citizens. For several decades, the Jewish establishment has asked American Jews to check their liberalism at Zionism's door, and now, to their horror, they are finding that many young Jews have checked their Zionism instead.

Morally, American Zionism is in a downward spiral. If the leaders of groups like AIPAC and the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations do not change course, they will wake up one day to find a younger, Orthodox-dominated, Zionist leadership whose naked hostility to Arabs and Palestinians scares even them, and a mass of secular American Jews who range from apathetic to appalled. Saving liberal Zionism in the United States—so that American Jews can help save liberal Zionism in Israel—is the great American Jewish challenge of our age. And it starts where Luntz's students wanted it to start: by talking frankly about Israel's current government, by no longer averting our eyes.

Since the 1990s, journalists and scholars have been describing a bifurcation in Israeli society. In the words of Hebrew University political scientist Yaron Ezrahi, "After decades of what came to be called a national consensus, the Zionist narrative of liberation [has] dissolved into openly contesting versions." One version, "founded on a long memory of persecution, genocide, and a bitter struggle for survival, is pessimistic, distrustful of non-Jews, and believing only in Jewish power and solidarity." Another, "nourished by secularized versions of messianism as well as the Enlightenment idea of progress," articulates "a deep sense of the limits of military force, and a commitment to liberal-democratic values." Every country manifests some kind of ideological divide. But in contemporary Israel, the gulf is among the widest on earth.

As Ezrahi and others have noted, this latter, liberal-democratic Zionism has grown alongside a new individualism, particularly among secular Israelis, a greater demand for free expression, and a greater skepticism of coercive authority. You can see this spirit in "new historians" like Tom Segev who have fearlessly excavated the darker corners of the Zionist past and in jurists like former Supreme Court President Aharon Barak who have overturned Knesset laws that violate the human rights guarantees in Israel's "Basic Laws." You can also see it in former Prime Minister Ehud Barak's apparent willingness to relinquish much of the West Bank in 2000 and early 2001.

But in Israel today, this humane, universalistic Zionism does not wield power. To the contrary, it is gasping for air. To understand how deeply antithetical its values are to those of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's government, it's worth considering the case of Effi Eitam. **Eitam, a charismatic ex-cabinet minister and war hero, has proposed ethnically cleansing Palestinians from the West Bank. "We'll have to expel the overwhelming majority of West Bank Arabs from here and remove Israeli Arabs from [the] political system,"** he declared in 2006. In 2008, Eitam merged his small Ahi Party into Netanyahu's Likud. And for the 2009–2010 academic year, he is Netanyahu's special emissary for overseas "campus engagement." In that capacity, he visited a dozen American high schools and colleges last fall on the Israeli government's behalf. The group that organized his tour was called "Caravan for Democracy."

Israeli Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman once shared Eitam's views. In his youth, he briefly joined Meir Kahane's now banned Kach Party, which also advocated the expulsion of Arabs from Israeli soil. Now Lieberman's position might be called "pre-expulsion." He wants to revoke the citizenship of Israeli Arabs who won't swear a loyalty oath to the Jewish state. He tried to prevent two Arab parties that opposed Israel's 2008–2009 Gaza war from running candidates for the Knesset. He said Arab Knesset members who met with representatives of Hamas should be executed. He wants to jail Arabs who publicly mourn on Israeli Independence Day, and he hopes to permanently deny citizenship to Arabs from other countries who marry Arab citizens of Israel.

You don't have to be paranoid to see the connection between Lieberman's current views and his former ones. The more you strip Israeli Arabs of legal protection, and the more you accuse them of treason, the more thinkable a policy of expulsion becomes. Lieberman's American defenders often note that in theory he supports a Palestinian state. What they usually fail to mention is that for him, a two-state solution means redrawing Israel's border so that a large chunk of Israeli Arabs find themselves exiled to another country, without their consent. Lieberman served as chief of staff during Netanyahu's first term as prime minister. And when it comes to the West Bank, Netanyahu's own record is in its way even more extreme than his protégé's. **In his 1993 book, *A Place among the Nations*, Netanyahu not only rejects the idea of a Palestinian state, he denies that there is such a thing as a Palestinian.** In fact, he repeatedly equates the Palestinian bid for statehood with Nazism. An Israel that withdraws from the West Bank, he has declared, would be a "ghetto-state" with "Auschwitz borders." And the effort "to gouge Judea and Samaria [the West Bank] out of Israel" resembles Hitler's bid to wrench the German-speaking "Sudeten district" from Czechoslovakia in 1938. It is unfair, Netanyahu insists, to ask Israel to concede more territory since it has already made vast, gut-wrenching concessions. What kind of concessions? It has abandoned its claim to Jordan, which by rights should be part of the Jewish state.

On the left of Netanyahu's coalition sits Ehud Barak's emasculated Labor Party, but whatever moderating potential it may have is counterbalanced by what is, in some ways, the most illiberal coalition partner of all, Shas, the ultra-Orthodox party representing Jews of North African and Middle Eastern descent. At one point, Shas—like some

of its Ashkenazi ultra-Orthodox counterparts—was open to dismantling settlements. In recent years, however, ultra-Orthodox Israelis, anxious to find housing for their large families, have increasingly moved to the West Bank, where thanks to government subsidies it is far cheaper to live. Not coincidentally, their political parties have swung hard against territorial compromise. And they have done so with a virulence that reflects ultra-Orthodox Judaism's profound hostility to liberal values. **Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, Shas's immensely powerful spiritual leader, has called Arabs "vipers," "snakes," and "ants."** In 2005, after Prime Minister Ariel Sharon proposed dismantling settlements in the Gaza Strip, Yosef urged that "God strike him down." **The official Shas newspaper recently called President Obama "an Islamic extremist."**

Hebrew University Professor Ze'ev Sternhell is an expert on fascism and a winner of the prestigious Israel Prize. Commenting on Lieberman and the leaders of Shas in a recent Op-Ed in *Haaretz*, he wrote, "The last time politicians holding views similar to theirs were in power in post-World War II Western Europe was in Franco's Spain." With their blessing, "a crude and multifaceted campaign is being waged against the foundations of the democratic and liberal order." Sternhell should know. In September 2008, he was injured when a settler set off a pipe bomb at his house.

Israeli governments come and go, but **the Netanyahu coalition is the product of frightening, long-term trends in Israeli society: an ultra-Orthodox population that is increasing dramatically, a settler movement that is growing more radical and more entrenched in the Israeli bureaucracy and army, and a Russian immigrant community that is particularly prone to anti-Arab racism.** In 2009, a poll by the Israel Democracy Institute found that 53 percent of Jewish Israelis (and 77 percent of recent immigrants from the former USSR) support encouraging Arabs to leave the country. Attitudes are worst among Israel's young. When Israeli high schools held mock elections last year, Lieberman won. This March, a poll found that 56 percent of Jewish Israeli high school students—and more than 80 percent of religious Jewish high school students—would deny Israeli Arabs the right to be elected to the Knesset. An education ministry official called the survey "a huge warning signal in light of the strengthening trends of extremist views among the youth." You might think that such trends, and the sympathy for them expressed by some in Israel's government, would occasion substantial public concern—even outrage—among the leaders of organized American Jewry. You would be wrong. In Israel itself, voices from the left, and even center, warn in increasingly urgent tones about threats to Israeli democracy. **(Former Prime Ministers Ehud Olmert and Ehud Barak have both said that Israel risks becoming an "apartheid state" if it continues to hold the West Bank.** This April, when settlers forced a large Israeli bookstore to stop selling a book critical of the occupation, **Shulamit Aloni, former head of the dovish Meretz Party, declared that "Israel has not been democratic for some time now.")** But in the United States, groups like AIPAC and the Presidents' Conference patrol public discourse, scolding people who contradict their vision of Israel as a state in which all leaders cherish democracy and yearn for peace.

The result is a terrible irony. In theory, mainstream American Jewish organizations still hew to a liberal vision of Zionism. On its website, AIPAC celebrates Israel's

commitment to "free speech and minority rights." The Conference of Presidents declares that "Israel and the United States share political, moral and intellectual values including democracy, freedom, security and peace." These groups would never say, as do some in Netanyahu's coalition, that Israeli Arabs don't deserve full citizenship and West Bank Palestinians don't deserve human rights. But in practice, by defending virtually anything any Israeli government does, they make themselves intellectual bodyguards for Israeli leaders who threaten the very liberal values they profess to admire.

After Israel's elections last February, for instance, Malcolm Hoenlein, executive vice-chairman of the Presidents' Conference, explained that Avigdor Lieberman's agenda was "far more moderate than the media has presented it." Insisting that Lieberman bears no general animus toward Israeli Arabs, Abraham Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League, told the Jewish Telegraphic Agency that "He's not saying expel them. He's not saying punish them." (Permanently denying citizenship to their Arab spouses or jailing them if they publicly mourn on Israeli Independence Day evidently does not qualify as punishment.) The ADL has criticized anti-Arab bigotry in the past, and the American Jewish Committee, to its credit, warned that Lieberman's proposed loyalty oath would "chill Israel's democratic political debate." But the *Forward* summed up the overall response of America's communal Jewish leadership in its headline "Jewish Leaders Largely Silent on Lieberman's Role in Government."

Not only does the organized American Jewish community mostly avoid public criticism of the Israeli government, it tries to prevent others from leveling such criticism as well. In recent years, American Jewish organizations have waged a campaign to discredit the world's most respected international human rights groups. In 2006, Foxman called an Amnesty International report on Israeli killing of Lebanese civilians "bigoted, biased, and borderline anti-Semitic." The Conference of Presidents has announced that "biased NGOs include Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Christian Aid, [and] Save the Children." Last summer, an AIPAC spokesman declared that Human Rights Watch "has repeatedly demonstrated its anti-Israel bias." When the Obama administration awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Mary Robinson, former UN high commissioner for human rights, the ADL and AIPAC both protested, citing the fact that she had presided over the 2001 World Conference Against Racism in Durban, South Africa. (Early drafts of the conference report implicitly accused Israel of racism. Robinson helped expunge that defamatory charge, angering Syria and Iran.)

Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International are not infallible. But when groups like AIPAC and the Presidents' Conference avoid virtually all public criticism of Israeli actions—directing their outrage solely at Israel's neighbors—they leave themselves in a poor position to charge bias. Moreover, while American Jewish groups claim that they are simply defending Israel from its foes, they are actually taking sides in a struggle *within* Israel between radically different Zionist visions. At the very moment the Anti-Defamation League claimed that Robinson harbored an "animus toward Israel," an alliance of seven Israeli human rights groups publicly congratulated her on her award. Many of those groups, like B'Tselem, which monitors Israeli actions in the Occupied Territories, and the Israeli branch of Physicians for Human Rights, have been at least as critical

of Israel's actions in Lebanon, Gaza, and the West Bank as have Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch.

All of which raises an uncomfortable question. If American Jewish groups claim that Israel's overseas human rights critics are motivated by anti-Israeli, if not anti-Semitic, bias, what does that say about Israel's domestic human rights critics? The implication is clear: they must be guilty of self-hatred, if not treason. American Jewish leaders don't generally say that, of course, but their allies in the Netanyahu government do. Last summer, Israel's vice prime minister, Moshe Ya'alon, called the anti-occupation group Peace Now a "virus." This January, a right-wing group called Im Tirtzu accused Israeli human rights organizations of having fed information to the Goldstone Commission that investigated Israel's Gaza war. A Knesset member from Netanyahu's Likud promptly charged Naomi Chazan, head of the New Israel Fund, which supports some of those human rights groups, with treason, and a member of Lieberman's party launched an investigation aimed at curbing foreign funding of Israeli NGOs.

To their credit, Foxman and other American Jewish leaders opposed the move, which might have impaired their own work. But they are reaping what they sowed. If you suggest that mainstream human rights criticism of Israel's government is motivated by animus toward the state, or toward Jews in general, you give aid and comfort to those in Israel who make the same charges against the human rights critics in their midst.

In the American Jewish establishment today, the language of liberal Zionism—with its idioms of human rights, equal citizenship, and territorial compromise—has been drained of meaning. It remains the lingua franca in part for generational reasons, because many older American Zionists still see themselves as liberals of a sort. They vote Democratic; they are unmoved by biblical claims to the West Bank; they see average Palestinians as decent people betrayed by bad leaders; and they are secular. They don't want Jewish organizations to criticize Israel from the left, but neither do they want them to be agents of the Israeli right.

These American Zionists are largely the product of a particular era. Many were shaped by the terrifying days leading up to the Six-Day War, when it appeared that Israel might be overrun, and by the bitter aftermath of the Yom Kippur War, when much of the world seemed to turn against the Jewish state. In that crucible, Israel became their Jewish identity, often in conjunction with the Holocaust, which the 1967 and 1973 wars helped make central to American Jewish life. These Jews embraced Zionism before the settler movement became a major force in Israeli politics, before the 1982 Lebanon war, before the first intifada. They fell in love with an Israel that was more secular, less divided, and less shaped by the culture, politics, and theology of occupation. And by downplaying the significance of Avigdor Lieberman, the settlers, and Shas, American Jewish groups allow these older Zionists to continue to identify with that more internally cohesive, more innocent Israel of their youth, an Israel that now only exists in their memories.

But these secular Zionists aren't reproducing themselves. Their children have no memory of Arab armies massed on Israel's border and of Israel surviving in part thanks to urgent military assistance from the United States. Instead, they have grown up viewing Israel as a regional hegemon and an occupying power. As a result, they are more

conscious than their parents of the degree to which Israeli behavior violates liberal ideals, and less willing to grant Israel an exemption because its survival seems in peril. Because they have inherited their parents' liberalism, they cannot embrace their uncritical Zionism. Because their liberalism is real, they can see that the liberalism of the American Jewish establishment is fake.

To sustain their uncritical brand of Zionism, therefore, America's Jewish organizations will need to look elsewhere to replenish their ranks. They will need to find young American Jews who have come of age during the West Bank occupation but are not troubled by it. And those young American Jews will come disproportionately from the Orthodox world.

Because they marry earlier, intermarry less, and have more children, Orthodox Jews are growing rapidly as a share of the American Jewish population. According to a 2006 American Jewish Committee (AJC) survey, while Orthodox Jews make up only 12 percent of American Jewry over the age of sixty, they constitute 34 percent between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four. For America's Zionist organizations, these Orthodox youngsters are a potential bonanza. In their yeshivas they learn devotion to Israel from an early age; they generally spend a year of religious study there after high school, and often know friends or relatives who have immigrated to Israel. The same AJC study found that while only 16 percent of non-Orthodox adult Jews under the age of forty feel "very close to Israel," among the Orthodox the figure is 79 percent. As secular Jews drift away from America's Zionist institutions, their Orthodox counterparts will likely step into the breach. The Orthodox "are still interested in parochial Jewish concerns," explains Samuel Heilman, a sociologist at the City University of New York. "They are among the last ones who stayed in the Jewish house, so they now control the lights."

But it is this very parochialism—a deep commitment to Jewish concerns, which often outweighs more universal ones—that gives Orthodox Jewish Zionism a distinctly illiberal cast. The 2006 AJC poll found that while 60 percent of non-Orthodox American Jews under the age of forty support a Palestinian state, that figure drops to 25 percent among the Orthodox. In 2009, when Brandeis University's Theodore Sasson asked American Jewish focus groups about Israel, he found Orthodox participants much less supportive of dismantling settlements as part of a peace deal. Even more tellingly, Reform, Conservative, and unaffiliated Jews tended to believe that average Palestinians wanted peace, but had been ill-served by their leaders. Orthodox Jews, by contrast, were more likely to see the Palestinian people as the enemy, and to deny that ordinary Palestinians shared any common interests or values with ordinary Israelis or Jews.

Orthodox Judaism has great virtues, including a communal warmth and a commitment to Jewish learning unmatched in the American Jewish world. (I'm biased, since my family attends an Orthodox synagogue.) But if current trends continue, the growing influence of Orthodox Jews in America's Jewish communal institutions will erode even the liberal-democratic veneer that today covers American Zionism. In 2002, America's major Jewish organizations sponsored a large Israel solidarity rally on the Washington Mall. Up and down the east coast, yeshivas shut down for the day, swelling the estimated Orthodox share of the crowd to close to 70 percent. When the then Deputy

Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz told the rally that "innocent Palestinians are suffering and dying as well," he was booed.

America's Jewish leaders should think hard about that rally. Unless they change course, it portends the future: an American Zionist movement that does not even feign concern for Palestinian dignity and a broader American Jewish population that does not even feign concern for Israel. My own children, given their upbringing, could as easily end up among the boos as among Luntz's focus group. Either prospect fills me with dread.

In 2004, in an effort to prevent weapons smuggling from Egypt, Israeli tanks and bulldozers demolished hundreds of houses in the Rafah refugee camp in the southern Gaza Strip. Watching television, a veteran Israeli commentator and politician named Tommy Lapid saw an elderly Palestinian woman crouched on all fours looking for her medicines amid the ruins of her home. He said she reminded him of his grandmother.

In that moment, Lapid captured the spirit that is suffocating within organized American Jewish life. To begin with, he watched. In my experience, there is an epidemic of not watching among American Zionists today. A Red Cross study on malnutrition in the Gaza Strip, a bill in the Knesset to allow Jewish neighborhoods to bar entry to Israeli Arabs, an Israeli human rights report on settlers burning Palestinian olive groves, three more Palestinian teenagers shot—it's unpleasant. Rationalizing and minimizing Palestinian suffering has become a kind of game. In a more recent report on how to foster Zionism among America's young, Luntz urges American Jewish groups to use the word "Arabs, not Palestinians," since "the term 'Palestinians' evokes images of refugee camps, victims and oppression," while "'Arab' says wealth, oil and Islam."

Of course, Israel—like the United States—must sometimes take morally difficult actions in its own defense. But they are morally difficult only if you allow yourself some human connection to the other side. Otherwise, security justifies everything. The heads of AIPAC and the Presidents' Conference should ask themselves what Israel's leaders would have to do or say to make them scream "no." After all, Lieberman is foreign minister; Effi Eitam is touring American universities; settlements are growing at triple the rate of the Israeli population; half of Israeli Jewish high school students want Arabs barred from the Knesset. If the line has not yet been crossed, where is the line?

What infuriated critics about Lapid's comment was that his grandmother died at Auschwitz. How dare he defile the memory of the Holocaust? Of course, the Holocaust is immeasurably worse than anything Israel has done or ever will do. But at least Lapid used Jewish suffering to connect to the suffering of others. In the world of AIPAC, the Holocaust analogies never stop, and their message is always the same: Jews are licensed by their victimhood to worry only about themselves. Many of Israel's founders believed that with statehood, Jews would rightly be judged on the way they treated the non-Jews living under their dominion. "For the first time we shall be the majority living with a minority," Knesset member Pinchas Lavon declared in 1948, "and we shall be called upon to provide an example and prove how Jews live with a minority."

But the message of the American Jewish establishment and its allies in the Netanyahu government is exactly the

opposite: since Jews are history's permanent victims, always on the knife-edge of extinction, moral responsibility is a luxury Israel does not have. Its only responsibility is to survive. As former Knesset speaker Avraham Burg writes in his remarkable 2008 book, *The Holocaust Is Over; We Must Rise From Its Ashes*, "Victimhood sets you free."

This obsession with victimhood lies at the heart of why Zionism is dying among America's secular Jewish young. It simply bears no relationship to their lived experience, or what they have seen of Israel's. Yes, Israel faces threats from Hezbollah and Hamas. Yes, Israelis understandably worry about a nuclear Iran. But the dilemmas you face when you possess dozens or hundreds of nuclear weapons, and your adversary, however despicable, may acquire one, are not the dilemmas of the Warsaw Ghetto. The year 2010 is not, as Benjamin Netanyahu has claimed, 1938. The drama of Jewish victimhood—a drama that feels natural to many Jews who lived through 1938, 1948, or even 1967—strikes most of today's young American Jews as farce.

But there is a different Zionist calling, which has never been more desperately relevant. It has its roots in Israel's Independence Proclamation, which promised that the Jewish state "will be based on the precepts of liberty, justice and peace taught by the Hebrew prophets," and in the December 1948 letter from Albert Einstein, Hannah Arendt, and others to *The New York Times*, protesting right-wing Zionist leader Menachem Begin's visit to the United States after his party's militias massacred Arab civilians in the village of Deir Yassin. It is a call to recognize that in a world in which Jewish fortunes have radically changed, the best way to memorialize the history of Jewish suffering is through the ethical use of Jewish power.

For several months now, a group of Israeli students has been traveling every Friday to the East Jerusalem neighborhood of Sheikh Jarrah, where a Palestinian family named the Ghawis lives on the street outside their home of fifty-three years, from which they were evicted to make room for Jewish settlers. Although repeatedly arrested for protesting without a permit, and called traitors and self-haters by the Israeli right, the students keep coming, their numbers now swelling into the thousands. What if American Jewish organizations brought these young people to speak at Hillel? What if this was the face of Zionism shown to America's Jewish young? What if the students in Luntz's focus group had been told that their generation faces a challenge as momentous as any in Jewish history: to save liberal democracy in the only Jewish state on earth?

"Too many years I lived in the warm embrace of institutionalized elusiveness and was a part of it," writes Avraham Burg. "I was very comfortable there." I know; I was comfortable there too. But comfortable Zionism has become a moral abdication. Let's hope that Luntz's students, in solidarity with their counterparts at Sheikh Jarrah, can foster an uncomfortable Zionism, a Zionism angry at what Israel risks becoming, and in love with what it still could be. Let's hope they care enough to try.

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